

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5282

INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION USBERLIN

AMCONSUL BREMEN

AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF

AMCONSUL FRANKFURT

AMCONSUL HAMBURG

AMCONSUL MUNICH

AMCONSUL STUTTGART

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 20640

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, GW

SUBJECT: CSU VIEWS ON THE 1976 CAMPAIGN

BEGIN SUMMARY: GERHOLD TANDLER, THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE CSU AND A MEMBER OF THE CDU/CSU "LEADERSHIP TEAM," HAS INDICATED TO US THAT THE CSU WAS PLANNING ON A FIGHTING CAMPAIGN IN THE 1976 ELECTIONS WITH FOREIGN POLICY TO BE A PRINCIPAL TOPIC. END SUMMARY.

1. IN A CONVERSATION WITH THE POLITICAL COUNSELOR AND WITH THE POLITICAL OFFICER OF USCONGEN MUNICH, TANDLER AND CSU BUNDESTAG DEPUTY STAUFFENBERG MADE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

(A) TANDLER, WITH STAUFFENBERG NODDING IN AGREEMENT, STATED THAT FOREIGN POLICY, NOT REPEAT NOT THE STATE OF THE ECONOMY, WOULD BE THE LEADING ISSUE IN THE
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1976 CAMPAIGN. TANDLER CLAIMED THAT IN POST-WAR ERA

GERMAN VOTERS HAD ALWAYS BEEN MORE INTERESTED IN FOREIGN POLICY THAN ANY OTHER ISSUE. THOSE WHO SAY THE CDU AND CSU WON THE 1953 AND 1957 ELECTIONS BECAUSE OF ERHARD'S SUCCESSFUL ECONOMIC POLICIES HAVE MISREAD THE SITUATION; THE REAL REASON FOR UNION VICTORIES IN THESE YEARS, AS WELL AS IN 1961, WAS ADENAUER'S SUCCESSFUL FOREIGN POLICY.

(B) IN CONNECTION WITH THE ABOVE, TANDLER HINTED THAT STRAUSS WOULD SEEK THE FOREIGN MINISTRY PORTFOLIO IF THE CDU/CSU SHOULD WIN.

(C) TANDLER COMPLAINED BITTERLY ABOUT BARZEL'S

FAILURE IN 1972 TO ATTACK BRANDT'S OSTPOLITIK MORE CLEARLY. HE OBSERVED DERISIVELY THAT, EVEN ON THE EVE OF THE ELECTION, BARZEL HAD CLAIMED THAT SOME OF BRANDT'S AGREEMENTS WITH THE EAST WOULD REQUIRE FURTHER STUDY AND EXAMINATION.

(D) TANDLER SAID THE CDU/CSU WOULD ATTACK THE WHOLE SPD RECORD IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS SINCE 1969, DEMONSTRATING THAT THE ACHIEVEMENTS FELL FAR SHORT OF THE 1969 PROMISES.

(E) TANDLER AND STAUFFENBERG BOASTED THAT ONLY A BAVARIAN MINISTER-PRESIDENT WOULD HAVE HAD THE COURAGE AND DETERMINATION TO REFUSE AN APPOINTMENT WITH EAST GERMAN REPRESENTATIVE KOHL AFTER THE GDR POLICY OF FORCED ADOPTION HAD BEEN REVEALED. THEY OBSERVED THAT THE OTHER PARTIES IN BAVARIA AND ELSEWHERE HAD BEEN FORCED TO FALL INTO LINE WITH GOPPEL'S STAND.

(F) TANDLER SAID THE CDU/CSU MIGHT NOT WIN A MAJORITY IN 1976, BUT THEY WOULD TRY HARD AT LEAST TO EMERGE AGAIN AS GERMANY'S LARGEST PARTY AND TO ADD AT LEAST SEVERAL POINTS TO THEIR 1972 TOTALS.

(G) TANDLER AND STAUFFENBERG ARGUED THAT IT WAS HIGH TIME FOR THE FRG TO CEASE MAKING AGREEMENTS WITH CONFIDENTIAL

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EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES UNDER WHICH THE FRG MUST MAKE INDEMNITY PAYMENTS. THIS MONEY, THEY SAID, COULD BE BETTER USED FOR DEFENSE OF NATO.

(H) TANDLER, SECONDED BY STAUFFENBERG, SAID SPD-LED COALITION GOVERNMENTS HAD FAILED TO SUPPORT THE US ON THE CRUCIAL FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES OF VIET-NAM AND THE MILITARY RESUPPLY OF ISRAEL DURING THE YOM

KIPPUR WAR, WHILE CDU-CSU OPPOSITION HAD BACKED US ON BOTH ISSUES. TANDLER RECALLED THAT DURING THE YOM KIPPUR WAR THE "SPD GOVERNMENT" DID NOT PERMIT SHIPS WITH MILITARY CARGOES BOUND FOR ISRAEL TO BE LOADED AT FRG PORTS; HE SUGGESTED THE SPD MAY HAVE DONE THIS TO CURRY FAVOR WITH THE USSR. TO THE SURPRISE AND DISMAY OF CDU AND CSU LEADERS, LEADING U.S. OFFICIALS NOT ONLY FAILED

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TO REBUKE THE FRG FOR ITS BEHAVIOR BUT INSTEAD STATED PUBLICLY THAT THERE WERE NO REPEAT NO SIGNIFICANT POLICY DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES.

(I) TANDLER SAID THE US HAD FAILED TO SEE THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE AIMS OF THE SPD-FDP VERSION OF OSTPOLITIK AND THE US POLICY OF DETENTE. ALTHOUGH

THE US MAY HAVE UNDERSTOOD DETENTE TO BE FOCUSSED PRIMARILY ON CERTAIN MUTUAL EAST-WEST DISARMAMENT MEASURES, THE SPD (AND FDP) WERE SEEKING GENUINE RAPPROCHEMENT (ANNAEHERUNG) WITH THE EAST.

(J) TANDLER CONTRASTED METTERNICH'S WISE TREATMENT OF VANQUISHED FRANCE AT THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA, WHICH PRODUCED A EUROPEAN PEACE WHICH LASTED A CENTURY, WITH THE ENTENTE'S UNWISE TREATMENT OF GERMANY AFTER
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WORLD WAR I, WHICH TOGETHER WITH RUNAWAY INFLATION AND THE GREAT DEPRESSION HELPED CREATE A HOSPITABLE CLIMATE FOR NAZIISM. APPLYING THIS ANALOGY TO PRESENT, TANDLER SAID THAT IF GERMAN PEOPLE ARE CONTINUALLY TOLD THEY ARE COLLECTIVELY RESPONSIBLE FOR WORLD WAR II AND MUST THEREFORE CONTINUE OPEN-ENDED REPARATIONS PAYMENTS TO SELF-STYLED REPRESENTATIVES OF VICTIMS OF THE WAR, (WHO ARE NOT THE REAL VICTIMS), THIS WILL INEVITABLY LEAD TO AN EXTREMIST "REACTION" FROM EITHER LEFT OR RIGHT. STAUFFENBERG SUPPORTED TANDLER'S CONTENTION THAT REACTION COULD COME FROM LEFT BY CITING EXAMPLE FROM HIS OWN ELECTORAL DISTRICT OF FORMER NPD VOTERS SWITCHING TO SPD RATHER THAN CSU.

(K) TANDLER DECLARED FLATLY THAT THE UNION PARTIES HAVE ATTAINED UNITY AND WILL MAINTAIN IT. THERE HAS ALWAYS BEEN BASIC AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE PARTIES, TANDLER CLAIMED, AND WHATEVER HOSTILITY EXISTED WAS DUE TO ACTIONS OF MARGINAL GROUPS (RANDGRUPPEN). TANDLER CITED HERR BLUEM OF THE SOZIALAUSSCHUESSE AS AN EXAMPLE OF LEADER OF SUCH A GROUP. THE GERMAN PEOPLE, SAID TANDLER, DO NOT WANT TO LISTEN TO POLITICIANS WHO EXPRESS DOUBTS ABOUT THE ISSUES, AND UNION PARTIES WILL NOT ALLOW SUCH GROUPS TO DISRUPT THEIR UNITY.

2. COMMENT: TANDLER, WHO IS YOUNG, ENERGETIC, AND DEMONSTRABLY FIRM IN HIS CONVICTIONS, MAY NOT FULLY REPRESENT THE VIEWS OF THE CSU LEADERSHIP AND PROBABLY WOULD NOT FIND THAT MANY CDU LEADERS FULLY AGREE WITH HIS STATEMENTS AND PLANS. IN FACT, HE OPENLY BOASTED THAT HE HAD DIFFERENT VIEWS ON HOW THE CDU/CSU COULD WIN THE ELECTION FROM THOSE VIEWS HELD BY CERTAIN CDU FIGURES. HOWEVER, TO THE DEGREE TO WHICH TANDLER'S JUDGMENTS AND PLANS PREVAIL, THEY WILL CONTRIBUTE TO THE ACERBITY OF THE UPCOMING POLITICAL CAMPAIGN AND, OVER A LONGER RUN, TO CDU/CSU INTERNAL TENSION--ESPECIALLY IF THEY DO NOT LEAD TO VICTORY.
HILLENBRAND

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